

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 181536

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DRAFTED BY D/MBFR:JDEAN:SAS

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APPROVED BY D/MBFR:JDEAN

ACDA:DLINEBAUGH

DOD/JCS OL. LAFFERTY (INFORMED)

DOD/ISA:COL. MICHAEL

EUR:GSPRINGSTEEN

PM/DCA:VBAKER

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TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: DRAFT TEXT OF SECTIONS IV AND V OF ALLIED
PAPER

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 181536

THE TEXT BELOW IS OUR SUGGESTED DRAFT OF SECTIONS IV
AND V OF THE ALLIED POSITION PAPER ON MBFR NOW BEING FOR-
MULATED AT NATO. THE TWO DRAFTS COMPRISE NEARLY ALL OF
THE SUBSTANTIVE MATERIAL ON THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATING

PROCEDURES FOR USE WITH THE EAST AND INTRA-ALLIANCE CO-ORDINATION CONTAINED IN THE BELGIAN-NETHERLANDS PROCEDURES PAPER AND IN THE UK STEERING BRIEF, BUT THEY ORGANIZE THE MATERIAL IN TWO SECTIONS AS DECIDED BY THE ALLIES. THE PAPER SHOULD BE TABLED IN THE SPC SOON AS A CONTRIBUTION TO DISCUSSION OF SECTIONS IV AND V IN THE HOPE THAT THE BULK OF IT WILL BE INCORPORATED IN IS DRAFTS OF THESE SECTIONS AND ADVANCE THE DRAFTING PROCESS. GENERAL POINTS CONTAINED IN REFTEL, PARTICULARLY PARAGRAPHS 1 THROUGH 5, CONTINUE VALID. WHEN THE TIME COMES FOR THE AD HOC GROUP TO MAKE REPORTS TO THE COUNCIL, WE CONTINUE TO PREFER THAT ITS MEMBERS BE SEATED TOGETHER FOR REASONS SET FORTH IN PARAGRAPH 17 OF VIENNA 5228.

BEGIN TEXT:

IV. NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES

A. INTRODUCTION. THIS SECTION DESCRIBES THE PROCEDURES TO BE USED BY ALLIED DELEGATIONS IN VIENNA IN THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST ON MBFR. IT IS FOR THE INTERNAL USE OF ALLIED GOVERNMENTS AND NEGOTIATORS AND IS NOT INTENDED TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE EAST. IT IS SUBJECT TO REVISION IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

B. OBJECTIVE. ALLIED NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO FACILITATE A FORM OF NEGOTIATION WHICH CAN MOST EFFICIENTLY ACHIEVE THE SUBSTANTIVE ALLIED OBJECTIVES SET FORTH IN PRECEDING SECTIONS OF THIS PAPER.

C. DISCUSSION OF PROCEDURES WITH THE EAST. PROCEDURES FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL IN GENERAL BE AS SET FORTH IN THE RECORD OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE EXPLORATORY TALKS OF MAY 14, 1973. FURTHER DISCUSSION OF PROCEDURAL MATTERS WITH THE EAST WHICH MAY BE NECESSARY WILL BE CONDUCTED AS DECIDED BY THE AD HOC GROUP.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 181536

D. PROCEDURES FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST. ALLIED POSITIONS SHOULD BE COORDINATED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE BEFORE THEY ARE PRESENTED TO THE EAST, AND THERE SHOULD BE ONLY ONE ALLIED POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE EAST. THE AD HOC GROUP, AS THE ALLIANCE BODY RESPONSIBLE FOR TACTICS IN NEGOTIATIONS, WILL CHOOSE THE MOST APPROPRIATE FORM OF NEGOTIATION WITH THE EAST AT A GIVEN MOMENT, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COUNCIL GUIDANCE AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION. THE AD HOC GROUP WILL NORMALLY CHOOSE AMONG THE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVES; OTHER METHODS MAY BE CONSIDERED ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS:

1. PLENARY MEETINGS. (A) PLENARY MEETINGS CONSTI-

TUTE THE IDEAL FORUM WHERE ALL PARTICIPANTS CAN EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS. THEY ARE CLEARLY THE BEST FORUM FOR PRESENTATION OF GENERAL MATERIAL AND VIEWS. SUBJECT TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, PLENARY MEETINGS SHOULD BE THE PRINCIPAL FORUM FOR EAST-WEST DISCUSSIONS ON MBFR. (B) WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD SEEK EASTERN AGREEMENT THAT: (I) WORKING GROUPS SHOULD IN GENERAL BE ESTABLISHED BY DECISIONS OF PLENARY MEETINGS AND REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THEIR DELIBERATIONS IN PLENARY MEETINGS; AND (II) AS A MATTER OF CUSTOMARY PRACTICE IN ADDITION TO THE ESTABLISHED RIGHT OF EITHER SIDE TO CONVENE PLENARIES, PLENARY MEETINGS SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT LEAST ONCE EVERY TWO WEEKS DURING ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS UNDERSTOOD WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THAT ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES WILL REQUEST AN EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETING WHENEVER ANY FOUR ALLIED PARTICIPANTS PROPOSE SUCH A REQUEST IN THE AD HOC GROUP. IN VIEW OF THE KNOWN RESISTANCE OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS TO THE PRINCIPLE OF BLOC-TO-BLOC NEGOTIATIONS, IT APPEARS INADVISABLE TO SEEK AMENDMENT OF THE AGREED PROCEDURES TO SPECIFICALLY PROVIDE FOR CONVENING AN EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETING AT THE REQUEST OF ONE OF THE TWO ALLIANCES; THIS IS IN PRACTICE ALREADY ASSURED.

2. WORKING GROUPS. WORKING GROUPS, AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF JUNE 28, 1973, MAY WELL PROVE TO BE AN EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATING INSTRUMENT. NORMALLY, THESE WORKING GROUPS SHOULD BE OPEN-ENDED, WITH EACH PARTICIPANT

PAGE 04 STATE 181536

CONFIDENTIAL
PATING COUNTRY ABLE TO ATTEND OR NOT ACCORDING TO THE INTEREST WHICH IT ATTACHES TO THE QUESTION UNDER DISCUSSION. IN SOME CASES, MEMBERSHIP IN WORKING GROUPS MIGHT BE VARIED ACCORDING TO THE SUBJECT UNDER REVIEW. POSSIBLE EASTERN PROPOSALS TO CONSTITUTE A WORKING GROUP WITH MEMBERSHIP RESTRICTED TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE REJECTED.

3. EMISSARIES. IT WILL AT TIMES BE APPROPRIATE TO USE THE TECHNIQUE OF EMISSARIES DEVELOPED IN THE EXPLORATORY TALKS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, PROVIDED THAT THOROUGH PRIOR CONSULTATION TAKES PLACE IN THE AD HOC GROUP AND THAT THE AD HOC GROUP HAS APPROVED THE POSITION TO BE USED BY THE WESTERN EMISSARIES. THE AD HOC GROUP WILL DECIDE WHEN TO EMPLOY EMISSARIES, THEIR NUMBER AND IDENTITY, AND THEIR MANDATE; EMISSARIES WILL REPORT TO THE AD HOC GROUP.

4. INFORMAL CONTACTS. AS DURING THE EXPLORATORY TALKS, MEMBERS OF ALLIED DELEGATIONS WILL BE ENTERING INTO DISCUSSION WITH EASTERN DELEGATIONS IN BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL MEETINGS AND DURING SOCIAL GATHERINGS.

IT IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE THAT, AS IN THE EXPLORATORY TALKS, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES ADHERE TO AGREED ALLIED POSITIONS ON THESE OCCASIONS.

E. PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROCEDURES. THE AD HOC GROUP WILL DETERMINE WHAT, IF ANY, ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE EAST CONCERNING PUBLIC AFFAIRS TREATMENT OF MBFR SHOULD BE SOUGHT PRIOR TO OR DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

F. INDIVIDUAL EASTERN COUNTRIES. INTERNAL EASTERN CONSULTATIVE MECHANISMS ARE LIKELY TO BE LESS EFFICIENT

AND LESS FLEXIBLE THAN OUR OWN. IT WILL BE DESIRABLE TO MAINTAIN ACTIVE LIAISON WITH THE NON-SOVIET EASTERN DELEGATIONS -- PARTICULARLY THE ROMANIANS -- TO ENSURE THAT EACH OF THEM HAS A FULL OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS NATIONAL VIEWS TO ALL THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS IN TIMELY FASHION AND IS DENIED OPPORTUNITIES TO DISTORT OR DISRUPT THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PURELY NATIONAL PURPOSES. THE AD
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 181536

HOC GROUP WILL COORDINATE CONTACTS WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES TO ASSURE THAT WESTERN VIEWS ARE CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED, AND WILL EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON BILATERAL CONTACTS.

V. INTRA-ALLIANCE COORDINATION

A. INTRODUCTION. THE "COMPREHENSIVE CONSULTATIVE PROGRAMME" ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL ON NOVEMBER 22, 1972 (PO/72/413 REVISED NOVEMBER 24) PROVED AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR INTRA-ALLIANCE CONSULTATION DURING THE EXPLORATORY TALKS. THIS SECTION IS INTENDED TO PERFECT THESE ALLIANCE CONSULTATION ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS PROPER IN THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE IN THE EXPLORATORY TALKS AND FURTHER DELIBERATION.

B. OBJECTIVE. THE COMPREHENSIVE CONSULTATIVE PROGRAMME IS DESIGNED TO MAINTAIN ALLIED UNITY, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SECURITY OF EVERY ALLY AND TO THE SUCCESS OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. TO ACHIEVE THIS AIM, PROCEDURES ADOPTED UNDER THE PROGRAMME MUST PROVIDE FOR FULL AND EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF NATIONAL VIEWS AND INTERESTS IN THE COURSE OF DEVELOPING OF UNIFIED ALLIANCE POSITIONS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT, IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE EASTERN SIDE WILL MAKE STRENUOUS EFFORTS TO DIVIDE THE ALLIES, TO PLAY ONE OFF AGAINST ANOTHER, AND IN PARTICULAR TO CREATE A SPLIT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT SUCH ATTEMPTS BE RESISTED. IT CANNOT REALISTICALLY BE EXPECTED THAT THE VIEWPOINT OF ALLIED COUNTRIES ON PARTICULAR QUESTIONS WILL NOT DIVERGE AT ANY POINT DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT DIFFERENCES SHOULD

BE SETTLED AROUND THE TABLE IN THE COUNCIL AND IN THE AD HOC GROUP.

C. THE COUNCIL. THE COUNCIL IS THE PERMANENT SUPERVISORY POLICY BODY FOR THE ALLIES IN MBFR. IT SHOULD BE THE FORUM BOTH FOR PRESENTATION OF GOVERNMENTAL INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING GENERAL NEGOTIATING POLICY AND FOR ENSURING THE CONDUCT OF THE NEGOTIATION IS CONSISTENT WITH THIS GENERAL POLICY.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 181536

D. THE AD HOC GROUP. ACTING ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND ON GUIDANCE ON GENERAL POLICY AND GOALS PROVIDED BY THE COUNCIL, AND REMAINING IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE COUNCIL, THE NEGOTIATORS ON THE SPOT, MEETING IN THE AD HOC GROUP, WILL HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALLIED TACTICS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR CONDUCTING THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES.

E. ORGANIZATION OF THE AD HOC GROUP. ALL ALLIES AS BEFORE ARE WELCOME TO PARTICIPATE IN THE AD HOC GROUP. THE HEADS OF ALLIED DELEGATIONS IN VIENNA OR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES WILL CONSTITUTE THE AD HOC GROUP. ALL MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP WILL PARTICIPATE ON AN EQUAL BASIS. THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE AD HOC GROUP WILL ROTATE WEEKLY IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER IN ORDER TO GIVE ALL ALLIES AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CHAIRMANSHIP. MEETINGS OF THE AD HOC GROUP WILL BE CONVENED BY THE CHAIRMAN AT THE REQUEST OF ANY HEAD OF A PARTICIPATING DELEGATION OR HIS REPRESENTATIVE. THE AD HOC GROUP WILL ESTABLISH PROCEDURES FOR ITS OWN INTERNAL MEETINGS.

F. DECISIONS WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP. THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD ARRIVE AT ALL NECESSARY DECISIONS ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS IN A SPIRIT OF ALLIED SOLIDARITY. IT SHOULD ALLOW THE OPPORTUNITY FOR FULL AND FRANK DISCUSSION, FOR THE EXPRESSION OF ALL VIEWPOINTS, AND FOR FULL CONSIDERATION OF POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEMS ADDRESSED BY IT.

G. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND THE AD HOC GROUP. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL TRANSMIT GUIDANCE FROM THE COUNCIL TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP THROUGH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE GROUP. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AD HOC GROUP, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS, WILL SUBMIT IN HIS NAME A REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON DEVELOPMENTS IN VIENNA DURING THE WEEK OF HIS TENURE. WHILE ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ARE UNDERWAY IN VIENNA, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AD HOC GROUP AND TWO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GROUP (THIS DELEGATION SHOULD INCLUDE A FLANK REPRESENTATIVE IN EACH

INSTANCE) WILL REPORT TO THE COUNCIL IN PERSON ON MBFR
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 181536

DEVELOPMENTS IN VIENNA ON THE FIRST AND THIRD MONDAY OF
EACH MONTH, OR ON SOME OTHER FIXED DATE WHICH WILL EN-
SURE REGULARITY OF REPORTING AND ENABLE ADVANCE PLAN-
NING.

H. SPECIAL REPORTS BY THE AD HOC GROUP TO THE COUNCIL.

1. IN CASES OF MAJOR NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGO-
TIATIONS, THE AD HOC GROUP WILL MAKE A SPECIAL JOINT
REPORT TO THE COUNCIL AND TO GOVERNMENTS, TO BE PRESENTED
TO THE COUNCIL IN PERSON BY THE CHAIRMAN, AND TWO OTHER
MEMBERS OF THE GROUP AS IN (G) ABOVE, ANALYZING THE DE-
VELOPMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS AND SETTING FORTH A RECOM-
MENDED APPROACH.

2. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF COUNCIL GUIDANCE, THE
AD HOC GROUP SHOULD HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESOLVING
DIVERGENCIES OF OPINION AMONG ITS MEMBERS WITH REGARD TO
BOTH SUBSTANTIVE OR PROCEDURAL ISSUES. ALLIED SOLIDARITY
REQUIRES THAT EVERY ATTEMPT BE MADE TO FIND RAPID AND
USABLE COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS. IN MAJOR MATTERS WHERE
DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CANNOT EASILY BE RESOLVED, NEGO-
TIATIONS WITH THE OTHER SIDE ON THIS TOPIC MAY BE SUS-
PENDED, NORMALLY FOR NO MORE THAN A WEEK. IN CASES
WHERE IT DOES NOT PROVE POSSIBLE TO ARRIVE AT COMPROMISE
SOLUTIONS TO DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WITHIN THE AD HOC
GROUP IN A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME, THE PROBLEM SHOULD
BE REFERRED TO THE COUNCIL. IN SUCH CASES, THE AD HOC
GROUP SHOULD MAKE A SPECIAL JOINT REPORT TO THE COUNCIL
AND TO GOVERNMENTS, TO BE PRESENTED TO THE COUNCIL IN PER-
SON BY THE CHAIRMAN ACCOMPANIED BY TWO OTHER MEMBERS,
SETTING FORTH THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AND THE ALTERNA-
TIVE VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF GROUP MEMBERS.

3. IN CASES REQUIRING FORMULATION OF FURTHER
GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP, THE COUNCIL WILL ORGANIZE
ITS WORK IN SUCH A WAY AS TO BE ABLE TO MAKE ITS VIEWS
KNOWN EXPEDITIOUSLY. END TEXT. RUSH

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